Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capital of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other
● [186] parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to
[554] the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training
[874] beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the
872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world. 858 171 198

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seems to explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education. 858 197 198 [196]

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart. 867

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as 861

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortune may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 • [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the
rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[184] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sus-
tain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong
[186] awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
[619] theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging
to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of
being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational
and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a
considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has
not been culturally repressive.

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[183] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which
[466] they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges
[515] which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath, and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

• 186 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

The following statements were made by persons who were employed by Americans, and are typical of those frequently made: 186 829

"Americans are very impolite and always in a hurry."

"For such big people they are very gentle."

"We are all afraid of your (American) women." This statement was made by a male.

"Americans are very rich."

"The corporal who was my boss received a salary of about $500 a month, I think."

"Americans do not stay angry very long."

"We say Americans are like children with their feelings." This refers to the American openly displaying his emotions where an Okinawan would hold himself in check.

American Attitudes toward Okinawan Employees The novel and play, Teahouse of the August Moon, well depicts the American stereotypes of the Okinawans---the simple, child-like people who somehow by trickery and deception manage to frustrate the good intentions of their military administrators. When the play was briefly shown on Okinawa, the Okinawans reacted by objecting to being made to appear child-like and dirty in contrast to the Americans.

The following comments were obtained from casual conversations with Americans who had Okinawans under their direction or in their personal employ:

"They don't know the meaning of truth."

"...but can you really trust them?"

"You would think that after eight years (of occupation) they would have picked up some English!"

"All you have to do is ask something out of the ordinary, and they hold a conference. And after that you have to ask them for their decision, as they won't volunteer this information."

"Once an idea is installed in their minds, they will hold it forever."

"After all, they really are like children, you know."

Most Okinawan comments about Americans centered on their wealth, the rushed nature of their lives, and their impoliteness. American commentary on Okinawans stressed tardiness, untruthfulness, and lack of initiative. It is amusing to note that both groups regarded the other as rather child-like. It 186 829

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
618 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

in diet and therefore ate bread instead of rice. The Okinawans objected and thereafter got rice too. 177 829

The few Japanese who are on Okinawa at present working mainly as contractors for the military are often spoken of contemptuously as 'Japani', but politely they are spoken of as 'Naichijin', "persons from the mainland /of Japan/". The term 'Nihonjin' still includes the Okinawans as far as most Okinawans are concerned. 186 829

These are some of the factors contributing to the attitudes that Okinawans feel toward Japan as such. Although there is overlapping, they must be distinguished from the basis of attitudes toward the possible reversion of Okinawa to the status of a Japanese prefecture. I shall discuss attitudes toward reversion after looking at some of the attitudes that exist toward the United States. 829

Attitudes toward the United States I shall confine myself to a discussion of attitudes derived from contact with Americans on Okinawa. Okinawans call Americans Amirikaa in Okinawan, 'Amerika-jin' or 'Amerika-san' in Japanese. The last is the most polite term. Upon asking for a term corresponding to the 'ketō', "hairy barbarian", of the last century, I was told that Amirikaa in a scornful tone of voice conveyed the same feeling. The diminutive, Amirikaa-gwaa, is used either for the child of an American or somewhat slurringly for an adult American. (These terms are usually used only for white Americans; colored Americans are classified differently. See below.) The following are some of the factors contributing to attitudes toward Americans: 177 829

1) Behavior of Individual Soldiers On the positive side are numerous unsolicited acts of kindness on the part of many GI's and the relatively free and easy relationship that often develops between Americans and Okinawans who work together. On the negative side there is the normal rowdiness of GI's, their frequently belligerent behavior when drunk (which is quite different from the sort of behavior Okinawans can expect of drunks---see p.147), and their frequent open display of sexuality (also contrary to Okinawan standards). There have also been a few acts of violence.

2) View of American Military Life When they first came in contact with the American armed forces in 1945, the Okinawans were greatly impressed by the contrast American military life presented to that of the Japanese. Several Okinawans commented to me at that time on the fact that officers worked alongside the men, often working even harder, and on the fact that officers did not discipline the men by slapping them. Slapping, one commented, was the business of the Japanese army.

Today their impressions are probably somewhat different. The distinctions between officers and men are undoubtedly greater now than in 1945. Moreover, morale and efficiency also undoubtedly declined after the end of the war and are at present rather low. One of the SIRI team saw a unit on maneuvers in the mountains of Kunigami. The men had hired Okinawan women to carry their packs; the officers had evidently driven home for the night. The impression this makes needs no comment.

Actually, of course, although the adoption of May Day as a labor holiday had nothing to do with Karl Marx, it has been preempted by the Communists throughout the world, and the added participation of the People's Party on this occasion would have made it a Communist demonstration irrespective of the origin of the holiday. 648 829

Another rumor, not about corruption but about official policy, is one that we heard several times to the effect that the cost of the American occupation and particularly of dependent housing is coming out of the taxes paid by Okinawans. To the people of as poor a country as Okinawa it is nearly incredible that a country could be so wealthy that it is willing to build hundreds of beautiful homes (at an estimated cost of $20,000 to $30,000 each) in such a distant spot. This sort of belief is undoubtedly very damaging to the American position.

Attitudes toward American Negroes Since the first days of the occupation there have been Negro troops stationed on Okinawa. The Okinawan view of them and especially of their status in relation to white Americans is worth noting. The Okinawans do not use the word "American" or its equivalent for Negroes, but instead use one of several other words. Perhaps the commonest is 'kurombō' ("black-boy"), which may be identified with the English derogatory term "nigger". At any rate many Negroes on Okinawa have evidently made the identification; they are said to become angry when they hear the term used. The standard term, corresponding to the English "Negro", is 'Kokujin', but this also is said to be unacceptable to some; therefore other terms may be used when speaking of a Negro in his presence. One such term is 'iro-otoko', which means literally "color-man", but figuratively, "lover". The Okinawan attitudes toward Negroes are conditioned by three factors, Japanese racial attitudes, their observation of Negro-white relations on Okinawa, and the behavior of the Negro troops. 186 829

The Japanese are, or were before the Pacific War, a race-proud people. They classified the peoples of the South Seas and Southeast Asia as 'dojin', "natives", and their attitudes toward them were inclined to be colonial, exploitive, and superior. It is quite likely that Okinawans identify the American Negroes as 'dojin'. They probably have no concept of "colored" races; they certainly do not identify themselves with the Negroes as non-white. But since many Okinawans are aware that some Americans look upon Okinawans as a sort of "native people", the attitudes of white Americans toward non-white Americans are of especial interest to them.

In observing the American Army's treatment of Negroes the Okinawans have seen segregation and some discrimination. At present there are de jure no segregated units as there were during the Pacific War, but a unit at an ammunition dump near a village studied is still referred to as the 'kurombō butai'. The behavior of the Negro troops themselves is probably on the average a bit rowdier and less inhibited than that of the whites, partly because of an average lower education and partly because of some cultured differences especially in patterns of recreation. This behavior probably together with some stereotypes picked up from white Americans has made many Okinawans somewhat afraid of Negroes. Relations seem to be better, however, in those

• 186 829 areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples - The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

668 829 The Status of Okinawa - There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life [152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.